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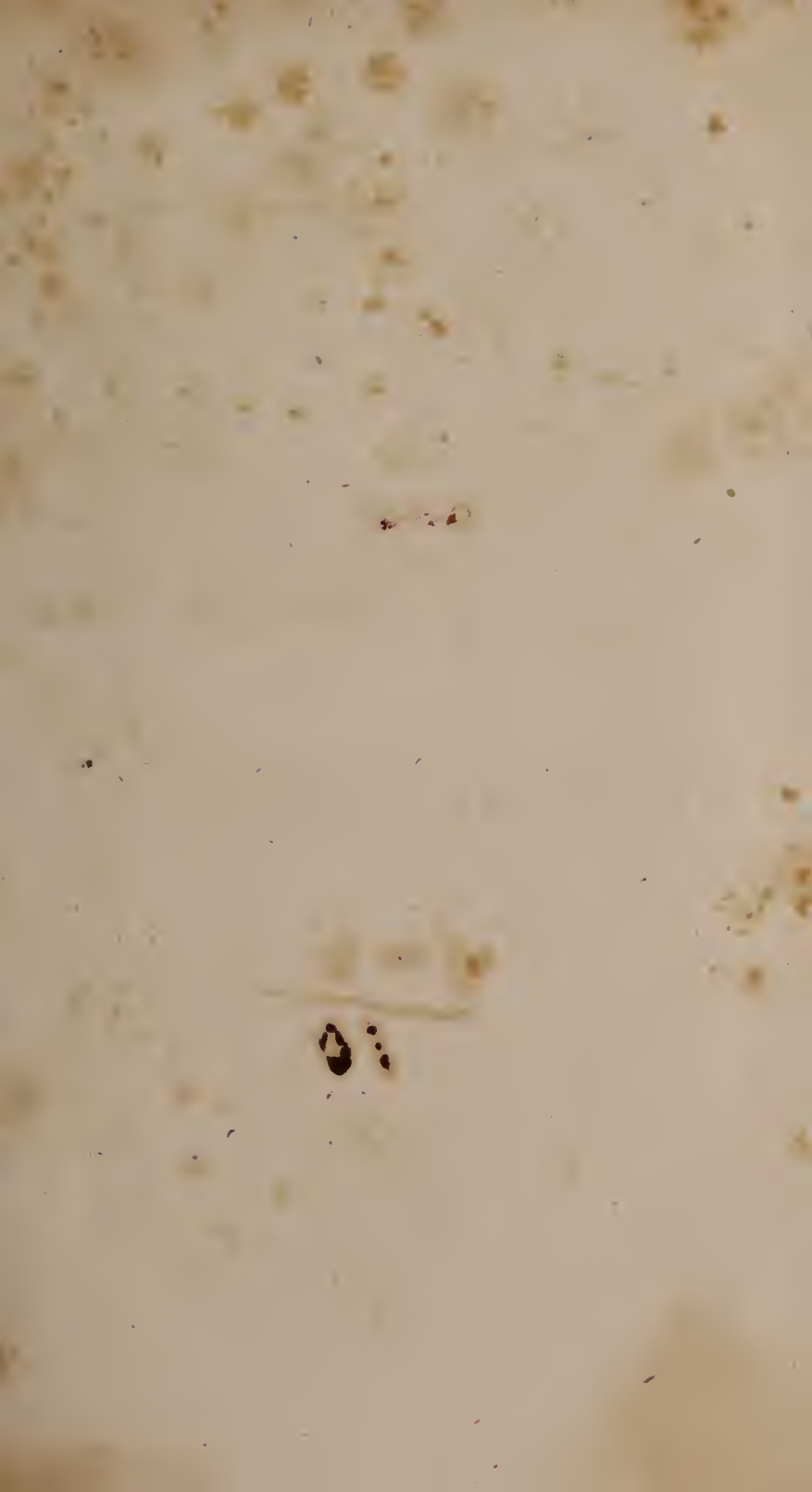
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THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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VOL. V.

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*Published by order of the Managers of*  
**THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.**

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Washington:

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JAMES C. DUNN, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER; GEORGETOWN, D. C.

THE HISTORY OF THE

PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS

FROM 1630 TO 1780

1780

By WALTER D. HOWLAND

1780

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VOL. V.

**APRIL, 1829.**

No. 2.

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**Clapperton's Second Expedition.**

THE London Quarterly Review for January, 1829, contains an account of the posthumous journal of the lamented Captain Clapperton, containing his observations, and a history of occurrences, during his progress through countries entirely unexplored, from the Bight of Benin, to Soccatoo, near which place he expired, in April, 1827. Though this distinguished traveller was compelled to consign to the grave soon after he commenced his journey, the only two companions who had entered with him upon this hazardous enterprise, he calmly and resolutely pressed forward, resolved that death alone should defeat the purposes of his important mission. On the return of Denham and Clapperton from their former successful journey into the interior, the latter brought with him a letter addressed to the King of England, by Bello, sultan of the Fellans or Fellatahs, proposing a friendly commercial intercourse between the two nations, "by means of a consul at Rakah;—the delivery of certain specified presents, at the port of Funda, and the prohibition of the exportation of slaves, by any of the Houssa merchants, to Atagher, Dahomey, or Ashantee."

To effect the objects mentioned by Bello, was deemed by the English Government, a matter of much interest and importance,

Captain Clapperton offered his services, and with Dr. Morrison, a Surgeon in the Navy, and Capt. Pearce, an excellent draughtsman, and a fellow-countryman, of the name of Dickson, who had served as a surgeon in the West Indies, added to the list by his particular request, with their servants, embarked in his majesty's ship *Brazen*, on the 25th of August, 1825, and arrived off Whidah on the 26th of November. The servant of Captain Clapperton was Richard Lander, and to his care and fidelity was it owing, that the Journal of this interesting traveller was preserved.

At Whidah, Mr. Dickson landed, and in company with a Portuguese, of the name of De Sousa, proceeded to Dahomey, where the latter had for some time resided. Here he met with an agreeable reception, and an escort attended him 17 days' journey to a place called Shar—which he also reached in safety.—He left Shar for Youri, but of his further progress no intelligence has been received.

Captain Clapperton was advised to set out from Badagry; and he accordingly left this place, attended by his two companions, and an African named Pescoe, from Houssa, who was expected to act as Interpreter. For some distance they proceeded up a creek in canoes, to a place where was a great market, called Bawie.

“The banks of the creek are represented as low, and covered with reeds, and from the following sentence we are persuaded that this is the spot where the seeds of those diseases were sown, on the very first night of their journey, which speedily proved so fatal to a part, and eventually to the whole of the company:—‘The morning thick and hazy, and, *though sleeping close to the river, in the open air*, for the first time since we have been on shore, we did not hear the hum of a single musketoe.’ How an old naval surgeon, and two experienced naval officers, could commit such an imprudence, in such a clime, is to us most surprising, when most dreadful consequences are well known to have almost invariably resulted from such a practice in tropical climates. The next night (the 9th,) *they again slept in the open air*, in the market-place of Dagmoo, a large town where they might have had as many houses as they wanted.—On the 10th, Clapperton, was seized with fever and ague. On the 12th, Dr. Morrison was attacked with fever. On the 13th, Captain Pearce was severely indisposed; and on the 14th, Richard Lander was taken ill. On the 23d, Dr. Morrison, after being carried in a hammock to the distance of about seventy miles, finding himself worse, requested to return to a town called Jannah; and Mr. Hous-

ton accompanied him. The next day, one of the servants died; and on the evening of the 27th, Captain Pearce breathed his last. 'The death of Captain Pearce,' says Clapperton, 'has caused me much concern; for independently of his amiable qualities, as a friend and companion, he was eminently fitted, by his talents, his perseverance, and his fortitude, to be of singular service to the mission; and, on these accounts, I deplore his loss as the greatest I could have sustained, both as regards my private feelings, and the public service.'

"Two days after this, Mr. Houston returned, with the information of Dr. Morrison having died at Jannah, on the same day as Captain Pearce, where he had his remains decently interred—the people of the town attending the ceremony.

"These unfortunate officers had been conveyed thus far, about seventy miles, in hammocks, by the people of the country; every where experiencing the kindest attentions, lodged in the best houses, and supplied with every thing that the country afforded. Clapperton was able occasionally to ride on horseback, and sometimes to walk; but greatly debilitated, and not free from fever. He describes the country between Badagry and Jannah, the frontier town of the kingdom of Yourriba, as abounding in population, well cultivated with plantations of Indian corn, different kinds of millet, yams and plantains, wherever the surface was free from dense forests. Every where on the road the party was met by numbers of people, chiefly women, bearing loads of produce on their heads, always cheerful and obliging, and delighted to see white men, frequently singing in chorus, holding up both hands, and clapping them as tokens of joy, as they passed along, and whole groups kneeling down, and wishing the travellers a good journey. Towns and villages were very frequent; and some of the former were estimated to contain from eight to fifteen thousand souls. At Jannah, the crowds were immense, but extremely civil, and highly amused to see white men.

"In the evening, Mr. Houston and I took a walk through the town: we were followed by an immense crowd, which gathered as we went along, but all very civil; the men taking off their caps, the women kneeling on their knees and one elbow, the other elbow resting upon the hand. In returning, we came through the market, which, though nearly sunset, was well supplied with raw cotton, country cloths, provision, and fruit, such as oranges, limes, plantains, bananas, and vegetables, such as small onions, chalotes, pepper, and gums for soups; also, boiled yams, and *occasions*.\* Here the crowd rolled on like a sea, the men jumping over the provision baskets, the boys dancing under the stalls, the women bawling and saluting those who were looking after their scattered goods, yet no word or look of disrespect to us.'

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\* Paste of pounded Indian corn, wrapped in a particular leaf.

"Of the honesty of the black population of the kingdom or province of Badagry, Captain Clapperton gives the following testimony:—

"I cannot omit bearing testimony to the singular, and perhaps unprecedented fact, that we have already travelled sixty miles in eight days, with a numerous and heavy baggage, and about ten different relays of carriers, without losing so much as the value of a shilling, public or private; a circumstance evincing not only somewhat more than common honesty of the inhabitants, but a degree of subordination and regular government, which could not have been supposed to exist amongst a people hitherto considered barbarians."

"The people of Jannah are ingenious as well as industrious. They are excellent carvers in wood: all their doors, drums, and wooden utensils, being covered with figures of men, snakes, crocodiles, &c. Numerous looms were in operation,—sometimes eight or ten in one house; their cotton cloths good in texture, and some of them very fine. Their looms and shuttles are described as being on the same principle with the common English loom, but the warp seldom more than four inches in width. They have abundance of indigo, of an excellent quality.—The women are generally the dyers, and the boys the weavers. They also manufacture a tolerable kind of earthenware.

"The old eaboeer, or chief of the town, was delighted to see the strangers; assigned to them good lodgings; and sent thither hogs, ducks, pigeons, plantains, yams, and whatever the place would afford, while his numerous wives, about two hundred, welcomed them with songs of joy. On being informed that an Englishman had only one wife, he and the whole crowd, particularly his wives, laughed immoderately. The old gentleman wore a rich crimson damask robe, and a red velvet cap, but during the ceremony of reception, he changed his dress three different times, each time increasing the splendour of his appearance."

The town of Emmadoo, is represented as "extremely beautiful, through a long, broad, and majestic avenue of trees, at the end of which a stockade eighteen feet high, with a wicker gate, and another of the same kind at the distance of a hundred paces, defend the entrance of the town." The country is broken into hills and dales, and refreshed with small streams in almost every valley. The town of Asulah contains six thousand, and that of Assouda, about ten thousand inhabitants, who supplied the party with provisions, and at both they witnessed dancing and singing the whole night.

"The appearance of the country improved as our travellers advanced; they had now reached the mountainous range, the width of which is stated to be about eighty miles. The highest point would appear not to exceed



two thousand five hundred feet, at that part where the travellers crossed them; and the road, by the edge of the hills, and through the vallies, not more than one thousand five hundred. The vallies were planted with cotton, corn, yams, and plantains; and on the tops and hollows of the hills, were perched the houses and villages of the proprietors of these plantations. The town of Duffoo in these mountains, is said to have a population of fifteen thousand souls; and Chiadoo, seven thousand.

“The highest summit of these mountains is between Erawa and Chaki.

“The road through this mountain pass was grand and imposing, sometimes rising almost perpendicularly, and then descending in the midst of rocks, into deep dells; then winding beautifully round the side of a steep hill, the rocks above overhanging us in fearful uncertainty. In every cleft of the hills, wherever appeared the least soil, were cottages, surrounded by small plantations of millet, yams, or plantains, giving a beautiful variety to the rude scenery. The road continued rising, hill above hill, for at least above two miles, until our arrival at the large and populous town of Chaki, situated on the top of the very highest hill. On every hand, on the hills, on the rocks, and crowding on the road, the inhabitants were assembled in thousands; the women welcoming us with holding up their hands and chanting choral songs, and the men with the usual salutations and every demonstration of joy. The caboccer was seated on the outside of his house, surrounded by his ladies, his singing men and singing women, his drums, fifes, and gong-gongs. He is a good looking man, about fifty years of age, and has a pleasing countenance. His house was all ready for us; and he immediately ordered us a large supply of goats, sheep, and yams; pressing us strongly to stay a day or two with him. He appeared to consider us as messengers of peace, come with blessings to his king and country. Indeed, a belief is very prevalent, and seems to have gone before us all the way, that we are charged with a commission to make peace wherever there is war, and to do good to every country through which we pass. The caboccer of this town, indeed told us so, and said he hoped that we should settle the war with the Nyffee people and the Fellatahs, and the rebellion of the Housa slaves, who have risen against the king of Yourriba. When I shook hands with him, he passed his hand over the heads of his chiefs, as conferring on them a white man's blessing. He was more inquisitive and more communicative, than any one whom we have yet seen. He sat until near midnight, talking and inquiring about England. On asking if he would send one of his sons to see our country, he rose up with alacrity, and said he would go himself.

“The town of Koosoo, at the northern termination of the mountains, is stated to be the largest that our travellers had yet seen, and supposed to contain twenty thousand inhabitants. Next to it was Yaboo, another large town, and then Ensookosoo, between which and the former, is a beautiful plain, well cultivated, and studded with a number of Fellatah villages,

whose inhabitants are living here, as they do in most parts of Soudan, a quiet and harmless pastoral life, unmolested by the black natives, and not interfering with any of the negro customs."

From this place to the capital of Yourriba, named Eyeo or Katunga, were many villages, but mostly laid waste, by the incursions of the Fellatahs of Soccatoo. The town of Tshow is in a beautiful valley, planted with large shady trees and bananas, having green plots and sheets of water running through the centre. Here our traveller was met by a large escort from Katunga, who had been sent to conduct him to the king.

"The road through which we passed was wide, though woody, and covered by men on horseback, and bowmen on foot. The horsemen, armed with two or three long spears, hurrying us on as fast as they could get us to go, horns and country drums beating and blowing before and behind; some of the horsemen dressed in the most grotesque manner; others covered all over with charms. The bowmen also had their little hats and feathers, with the jebus or leathern pouch hanging by their side. These men always appear to me, to be the best troops in this country and Soudan, from their lightness and activity. The horsemen, however, are ill mounted; the animals are small and badly dressed, their saddles so ill secured, and the rider sits so clumsily on his seat, that an Englishman who ever rode a horse with an English saddle, would upset one of them the first charge, with a long stick.

"They soon arrived at the gate of Katunga, which is said to be delightfully situated at the point of a granite range of hills; a band of music accompanied them, followed by an immense multitude of men, women and children. They proceeded about five miles within the city, before they reached the residence of the king, who was seated under a verandah, with two red and two blue umbrellas, supported on long poles held by slaves. The chiefs were observed to be holding a parley with the king, which Clapperton conjectured to relate to his being desired to perform the usual ceremony of prostration.

"'I told them,' says he, 'if any such thing was proposed, I should instantly go back; that all the ceremony I would submit to, would be to take off my hat, make a bow, and shake hands with his majesty, if he pleased.' This being granted, 'We accordingly,' says our author, 'went forward; the king's people had a great deal to do to make way amongst the crowd, and allow us to go in regular order. Sticks and whips were used, though generally in a good natured manner; and I cannot help remarking on this, as on all other occasions of this kind, that the Yourribas appear to be a kind and mild people—kind to their wives and children, and to one another, and that the government, though absolute, is conducted with the greatest mildness.' The ceremony of prostration before the king, is required from all.

“The king of Yourriba made a point of our travellers staying to witness the theatrical entertainments. They were exhibited in the king’s park, in a square space, surrounded by clumps of trees. The first performance was that of a number of men dancing and tumbling about in sacks having their heads fantastically decorated with strips of rags, damask silk, and cotton of variegated colours; and they performed to admiration. The second exhibition was hunting the *boa* snake, by the men in the sacks. The huge snake, it seems, went through the motions of this kind of reptile ‘in a very natural manner, though it appeared to be rather full in the belly, opening and shutting its mouth in the most natural manner imaginable.’ A running fight ensued, which lasted some time, till at length the chief of the bag-men contrived to scotch his tail with a tremendous sword, when he gasped, twisted up, and seemed in great torture, endeavouring to bite his assailants, who hoisted him on their shoulders, and bore him off in triumph. The festival of one day concluded with the exhibition of the *white devil*, which had the appearance of a human figure in white wax, looking miserably thin, and as if starved with cold, taking snuff, rubbing its hands, treading the ground as if tender-footed, and evidently meant to burlesque and ridicule a white man, while his sable majesty frequently appealed to Clapperton whether it was not well performed. After this, the King’s women sang in chorus, and were accompanied by the whole crowd.

“The city of Eyeo, called in the Houssa language, Katunga, has a thick belt of wood round the walls, which are built of clay, about twenty feet high, and surrounded by a dry ditch; they are fifteen miles in circumference, and are entered by ten gates. The houses are made of clay, with thatched roofs. The posts that support the verandahs and the doors, are carved in bas-relief, with the figures of the *boa* killing an antelope or a hog, with warriors accompanied by their drummers, &c. It has seven markets held every evening, in which are exposed for sale yams, corn, calavances, bananas, vegetables, butter, seeds of the colocynth, goats, fowls, sheep, cotton cloths, and various implements of agriculture. The country produces small horses, but fine horned cattle, many of them with humps on their shoulders like those of Abyssinia, sheep, hogs, muscovy ducks, fowls, pigeons and turkeys. They have various kinds of fruit, such as oranges, limes, and, so Clapperton says, pears and apples. The cotton plant and indigo are extensively cultivated, but the commerce with the coast is almost exclusively in slaves, which are given in exchange for rum, tobacco, European cloths and cowries. The intercourse, which is constant, is entirely by land, either from Badagry, Lagos or Dahomey. The price of a slave at Jannah, as nearly as could be calculated, was from 3*l.* to 4*l.* sterling; their domestic slaves, however, are never sold, except for misconduct. In fact, the whole population may be considered in a state of slavery, either to the king or to his caboocers. The features of the Yourriba people, are described as being less characteristic of the negro than those of Badagry, the lips

less thick, and the nose inclined to the aquiline; the men well made, and of an independent carriage; the women of a more coarse appearance, probably from drudgery and exposure to the sun.

"Though Clapperton remained at Katunga, from the 23d January to the 7th March, and though the river Quorra, the mysterious and miscalled Niger, was not more than thirty miles to the eastward, he was not able to prevail on the King of Yourriba to allow him to visit it. Whenever he asked for permission to do so, he was always put off with some frivolous excuse; and in this too, the old gentleman appears to have been as cunning and as cautious as a Chinese mandarin—observing at one time, that the road was not safe—at another, that the Fellatahs had possession of the country; and what would the King of England say, if any thing should happen to his guest? It was with some difficulty, after all, that Clapperton could prevail on him to let him depart on his journey—offering if he would stay, to give him a wife; of wives, he said he himself had plenty—he did not exactly know how many, but he was sure that, hand to hand, they would reach from Katunga to Jannah.

"On departing from Katunga to Kiam, a city of Borgho, Mr. Houston took his leave of our traveller, and returned to the coast, where he shortly afterwards died. Clapperton continued his route among ruined villages, that had been sacked by the Fellatahs. These marauders, it seems, have a mode of setting fire to walled towns, by tying combustibles to the tails of pigeons, which, on being let loose, fly to the tops of the thatched houses, while they keep up showers of arrows, to prevent the inhabitants from extinguishing the flames. Having crossed the river Moussa, a considerable stream which falls into the Quorra, an escort appeared to conduct our traveller to Yarro, the sultan, as they called him, of Kiam. They were mounted on remarkably fine horses, but were a lawless set of fellows, who plundered the villages as they went along, without mercy or remorse.

"Kiam is one of the largest cities in Borgho. Clapperton estimates it to contain at least 30,000 inhabitants; but, like the rest of the people of this kingdom, they are represented as great robbers. Yarro, however, behaved very well to our traveller, supplied him at once with horses and bearers, and advised him to go by Boussa, and not by Yourri, as the latter was at war with the Falletahs. Profiting by this advice, he proceeded towards the former, and in the way, he fell in with a caravan from Ashantee and Gonja, on their road to Houssa."

This caravan occupied a long line of march; bullocks, horses, asses, men and women, all in a line, and forming a very curious and motley groupe. At Wawa, a city of Borgho, Clapperton was hospitably received. This place being near to that part of the Quorra, where Park lost his life; concerning this melancholy event, the following was the story of the head man.

“That the boat stuck fast between two rocks; that the people in it laid out four anchors ahead; that the water falls down with great rapidity from the rocks, and that the white men, in attempting to get on shore, were drowned; that crowds of people went to look at them, but the white men did not shoot at them as I had heard; that the natives were too much frightened either to shoot at them, or to assist them; that there were found a great many things in the boat, books and riches, which the sultan of Boussa has got; the beef cut in slices and salted, was in great plenty in the boat; and the people of Boussa who had eaten of it, all died, because it was human flesh, and that they knew we white men eat human flesh. I was indebted to the messenger of Yaro for a defence, who told the narrator that I was much more nice in my eating, than his countrymen were. But it was with some difficulty I could persuade him that if his story was true, it was the people's own fears that had killed them; that the meat was good beef or mutton; that I had eaten more goat's flesh since I had been in this country, than I had ever done in my life; that in England we eat nothing but fowls, beef and mutton.”

Wawa is supposed to contain from 18 to 20,000 inhabitants. They appeared to be honest, cheerful, good-natured, and hospitable, but the virtues of chastity and temperance are scarcely known. From this place, Clapperton resolved to proceed across the Quorra, to a city called Koolfu, but as Boussa was higher up the river, and he was anxious to visit the spot where Park perished, his servant was sent forward to the former place, at which he was to join him after his visit to Boussa.

“This town he found, on his arrival, to be situated on an island, formed by two branches of the Quorra, the smaller and more westerly one, named the Menai, which he crossed by a canoe, the horses swimming over. On waiting on the sultan, by whom, as usual, he was kindly received, his first inquiry was concerning some white men, who were lost in the river some twenty years ago, near this place.

“He seemed rather uneasy at this question, and I observed that he stammered in his speech. He assured me he had nothing belonging to them, that he was a little boy when the event happened. I said I wanted nothing but the books and papers, and to learn from him a correct account of the manner of their death; and that with his permission, I would go and visit the spot where they were lost. He said no, I must not go; it was a very bad place. Having heard that part of the boat still remained, I asked him if it was so: he replied that such a report was untrue; that she did remain on the rocks for some time after, but had gone to pieces, and floated down the river long ago. I said if he would give me the books and papers, it would be the greatest favour he could possibly confer on me. He again assured

me that nothing remained with him,—every thing of that kind had gone into the hands of the learned men; but that if any were now in existence, he would procure them and give them to me. I then asked him if he would allow me to inquire of the old people in the town, the particulars of the affair, as some of them must have seen it. He appeared very uneasy, gave me no answer, and I did not press him further.’”

With this statement Clapperton was by no means satisfied. The people were, however, unwilling to give information on the subject. The following extracts contain, we believe, all the intelligence which could be gathered in relation to this afflictive event.

“The place where the vessel was sunk, is in the eastern channel, where the river breaks over a grey slate rock, extending quite across it. A little lower down, the river had a fall of three or four feet.—Here, and still farther down, the whole united streams of the Quorra, were not above three-fourths the breadth of the Thames at Somerset-house. On returning to the ferry, Clapperton found a messenger from the king of Youri, who had sent him a present of a camel.

“He said the king, before he left Youri, had shown him two books, very large, and printed, that had belonged to the white men that were lost in the boat at Boussa; that he had been offered a hundred and seventy mitgalls of gold for them by a merchant from Bornou, who had been sent by a Christian on purpose for them. I advised him to tell the king he ought to have sold them; that I would not give him five mitgalls for them; but that, if he would send them, I would give him an additional present; and that he would be doing an acceptable thing to the king of England by sending them, and that he would not act like a king if he did not. I gave him for his master, one of the mock gold chains, a common sword, and ten yards of silk, and said I would give him a handsome gun and some more silk, if he would send the books. On asking him if there were any books like my journal, which I showed him, he said there was one, but that his master had given it to an Arab merchant ten years ago; but the merchant was killed by the Fellatas on his way to Kano, and what had become of that book afterwards, he did not know.’

“Upon this, Clapperton sent a person with a letter to Youri—

“Mohamed, the Fezzanie, whom I had hired at Tabra, and whom I had sent to the chief of Youri, for the books and papers of the late Mungo Park, returned, bringing me a letter from that person, which contained the following account of the death of that unfortunate traveller: that not the least injury was done to him at Youri, or by the people of that country; that the people of Boussa had killed them, and taken all their riches, that the books in his possession, were given him by the Imaum of Boussa; that they were lying on the top of the goods in the boat when she was taken; that not a

soul was left alive belonging to the boat; that the bodies of two black men were found in the boat chained together; that the white men jumped overboard; that the boat was made of two canoes, joined fast together, with an awning or roof behind; that he, the sultan, had a gun, double-barrelled, and a sword, and two books that had belonged to those in the boat; that he would give me the books whenever I went to Youri myself for them, not until then.'

"The last account of this unfortunate traveller, is stated to be from an eye-witness.

"This evening I was talking with a man that is married to one of my landlady's female slaves, called her daughter, about the manners of the Cumbrie, and about England; when he gave the following account of the death of Park, and of his companions, of which he was an eye-witness. He said that when the boat came down the river, it happened unfortunately just at the time that the Fellatas first rose in arms, and were ravaging Goober and Zamfra; that the sultan of Boussa, on hearing that the persons in the boat were white men, and that the boat was different from any that had ever been seen before, as she had a house at one end, called his people together from the neighbouring towns, attacked and killed them, not doubting that they were the advance guard of the Fellata army, then ravaging Soudan, under the command of Malem Danfodio, the father of the present Bello; that one of the white men was a tall man, with long hair, that they fought for three days before they were all killed; that the people in the neighbourhood were very much alarmed, and great numbers fled to Nyffe and other countries, thinking that the Fellatas were certainly coming among them. The number of persons in the boat was only four, two white men, and two blacks; that they found great treasure in the boat; but that the people had all died who eat of the meat that was found in her. This account I believe to be the most correct of all that I have yet got; and was told to me without my putting any questions, or showing any eagerness for him to go on with his story. I was often puzzled to think, after the kindness I had received at Boussa, what could have caused such a change in the minds of these people, in the course of twenty years, and of their different treatment of two European travellers. I was even disposed at times to flatter myself, that there was something in me, that belonged to nobody else, to make them treat me and my people with so much kindness; for the friendship of the king of Boussa, I consider as my only protection in this country.'

"This is by far the most probable, and all of them, corroborate the story generally disbelieved at the time, which Isaaco brought back from Amadoo-Fatima. There is yet a chance, we think, though but a slender one, that the journal of Park may be recovered."

In the country of Nyffe, Clapperton "found the Quorra about a quarter of a mile in width, running about two miles an hour,

and from ten to fifteen feet deep. In this part of the country, the natives smelt iron ore, and every village had three or four blacksmith's shops in it. The houses are generally painted with figures of human beings, huge snakes, alligators or tortoise.

"Koolfu is a sort of central market, where traders meet from every part of Soudan and western Africa. It is a walled town, with four gates, and may contain from twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants, including all classes, the slave and the free, who live together, and eat together without distinction, the men slaves with the men, and the women with the women; for, in the true style of all orientals, the two sexes eat their meals apart, and never sit down to any repast together. They are represented as a kind-hearted people, and affectionate towards one another, but they will cheat, if they can—and who is there, we may ask, that does not, in the way of trade? From Koolfu to Kufu, the country was woody, the trees along the path consisting mostly of the butter tree. The villages were numerous, and cultivation extensive; but so insecure did the inhabitants consider themselves, that every man, working in the fields, was armed to defend themselves against the inroads of the Fellatas.

"Zaria, the capital of Zeg-zeg, is a large city, inhabited almost wholly by Fellatas, who have their mosques with minarets, and their houses flat roofed. It is said to be more populous than Kano, a city which is estimated by Clapperton to contain from thirty to forty thousand inhabitants. Many of them are from Fotta Bonda, and Fotta Torra, and seem to know and to have had dealings with the French and English on the coast, and, as our author says, have not improved by the acquaintance. The environs of this city are said to be beautiful—like some of the finest parts of England in the month of April, and grain and fruits of various kinds are cultivated both within and without the walls. The beauty and fertility of the country continued all the way to Kano, which our travellers entered on the 20th July, 1826.

"Here Clapperton met his former friend and acquaintance, Hadje Hat Sala, who informed him of the state of the war between Bello and the Sheik of Bornou. Though still in bad health, he determined to proceed at once to Bello, and to leave his servant Richard and old Pascoe at Kano, under the protection of Hadje, who was authorised to grant them whatever money they might want. At Jaza he met his old friend the Gadado, or prime minister; who greeted him with great kindness; told him that Bello had received his letter from Koolfu, and had sent a messenger to conduct him to Soccatoo. It seems, however, that the gadado prevailed on him to remain for some time in Kano, where he was plundered of several articles, and, among others, of his journal and remark book, a circumstance which has occasioned an hiatus in his narrative, from July to October, on the 12th of which month, we find him, with a part of the Sultan's army, near Zer-



mie, on the borders of a large lake, or rather chain of lakes, on the plain of Gondamie, approaching nearly to Soccatoo.

“The borders of these lakes are the resort of numbers of elephants and other wild beasts. The appearance at this season, and at the spot where I saw it, was very beautiful; all the acacia trees were in blossom, some with white flowers, others with yellow, forming a contrast with the small dusky leaves, like gold and silver tassels on a cloak of dark green velvet. I observed some fine large fish leaping in the lake. Some of the troops were bathing; others watering their horses, bullocks, camels and asses: the lake as smooth as glass, and flowing around the roots of the trees. The sun, on its approach to the horizon, throws the shadows of the flowery acacias along its surface, like sheets of burnished gold and silver. The smoking fires on its banks, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs or drums, the braying of their brass and tin trumpets, the rude huts of grass or branches of trees rising as if by magic, every where the calls on the name of Mohammed, Abdo, Mustafa, &c., with the neighing of horses, and the braying of asses, gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its sloping green and woody banks.”

From the Gadado, Clapperton learned that sultan Bello was encamped before Coonia, the capital city of Goobur, which had rebelled against him, and which he was resolved to subdue. Clapperton, therefore, accompanied the Kano troops to join the sultan at this place. Bello received our traveller kindly, and said he would attend to the king's letter at Soccatoo, as he was determined to make the attack on Coonia the next day. After this attack (the account of which is interesting, but which we have not room to insert) Clapperton visited Soccatoo, found the same house which he had formerly inhabited, and remained there six months, collecting the most valuable information in regard to that and the neighbouring countries, which we hope, when his journal is received, to present to our readers.

Soon after Clapperton's arrival at Soccatoo, he was informed that the Sheik of Bornou had written to Bello, to put him to death, and the subsequent conduct of Bello was far from being such as he had reason to expect. He was treated like a spy, and all his presents for the sultan of Bornou were seized, under pretence that he was conveying warlike stores to that country. This conduct so affected Clapperton's spirits, that his servant never saw him smile afterwards. “His journal about the 12th of March, terminates abruptly in the midst of a conversation, as to the best route to be taken homewards.” On the same day he

was attacked with dysentery, and declined rapidly. "I read to him daily," says Lander, "some portions of the New Testament, and the ninety-fifth Psalm, to which he was never weary of listening; and on Sundays I added the church service, to which he invariably paid the profoundest attention." The following account of the death of this great traveller, cannot be read without emotion.

"At length, calling honest Lander to his bed-side, Clapperton said—'Richard, I shall shortly be no more; I feel myself dying.' Almost choaked with grief, I replied, 'God forbid, my dear master: you will live many years yet.' 'Don't be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you,' said he, 'it is the will of the Almighty; it cannot be helped. Take care of my Journal and papers after my death; and when you arrive in London, go immediately to my agents, send for my uncle, who will accompany you to the Colonial Office, and let him see you deposit them safely into the hands of the Secretary. After I am buried apply to Bello, and borrow money to purchase camels and provisions for your journey over the desert, and go in the train of the Arab merchants to Fezzan. On your arrival there, should your money be exhausted, send a messenger to Mr. Warrington, our Consul at Tripoli, and wait till he returns with a remittance. On reaching Tripoli, that gentleman will advance what money you may require, and send you to England the first opportunity. Do not lumber yourself with my books; leave them behind, as well as the barometer, boxes, and sticks, and indeed every heavy article you can conveniently part with; give them to Malam Mudey, who will take care of them.—The wages I agreed to give you, my agents will pay, as well as the sum government allowed me for a servant; you will of course receive it, as Columbus has never served me. Remark what towns or villages you pass through; pay attention to whatever the chiefs may say to you, and put it on paper. The little money I have, and all my clothes, I leave you: sell the latter and put what you may receive for them into your pocket; and if, on your journey, you should be obliged to expend it, government will repay you on your return.' I said, as well as my agitation would permit me, 'if it be the will of God to take you, you may rely on my faithfully performing, as far as I am able, all that you have desired; but I trust the Almighty will spare you, and you will yet live to see your country.' 'I thought I should at one time, Richard,' continued he; 'but all is now over; I shall not be long for this world; but God's will be done.' He then took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said, in a low but deeply affecting tone, 'my dear Richard, if you had not been with me, I should have died long ago; I can only thank you, with my latest breath, for your kindness and attachment to me; and if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want, but God will reward

you.' This conversation occupied nearly two hours, in the course of which my master fainted several times, and was distressed beyond measure. The same evening he fell into a slumber, from which he awoke in much perturbation, and said he had heard distinctly the tolling of an English funeral bell. I entreated him to be composed, and observed that sick people frequently fancy they hear and see things that cannot possibly have any existence. He made no reply.'

"A few days after this he breathed his last.—Lander immediately sent to ask permission of the sultan to bury the corpse, and that he would point out the place where his remains might be deposited. Bello immediately ordered four slaves to dig a grave at the village of Jungavie, about five miles to the south-east of Soccatoo, whither the body was conveyed. When all was ready, 'I opened a prayer-book,' says this faithful servant, 'and, amid showers of tears, read the funeral service over the remains of my valued master. This being done, the union jack was taken off, the body slowly lowered into the earth, and I wept bitterly as I gazed for the last time upon all that remained of my generous and intrepid master.' He then agreed to give some of the natives two thousand cowries to build a house four feet high over the spot, which they promised to do.

"I then returned, diseonsolate and oppressed, to my solitary habitation; and leaning my head on my hand, could not help being deeply affected with my lonesome and dangerous situation—a hundred and fifteen days' journey from the sea-coast, surrounded by a selfish and cruel race of strangers, my only friend and protector mouldering in his grave, and myself suffering dreadfully from fever. I felt, indeed, as if I stood alone in the world, and earnestly wished I had been laid by the side of my dear master: all the trying evils I had endured never affected me half so much as the bitter reflections of that distressing period. After a sleepless night, I went alone to the grave, and found that nothing had been done; nor did there seem the least inclination, on the part of the inhabitants of the village, to perform their agreement. Knowing it would be useless to remonstrate with them, I hired two slaves at Soccatoo the next day, who went immediately to work, and the house over the grave was finished on the 15th."

After encountering very formidable obstacles, the faithful Lander arrived at Whidah, was conveyed thence in an English brig to Cape Coast, whence he embarked in the *Esk Sloop* of War, and reached England in April 1828.

The following are the opinions of the Reviewers in regard to the long disputed question of the course and termination of the Niger.

"We are now in possession of authentic materials to reform those gratuitous maps of northern Africa which are a reproach to the geography of the nineteenth century. For these materials we are mainly indebted to Den-

ham and Clapperton, but chiefly to the latter, who has measured every degree of latitude from the Mediterranean to the bight of Benin, and of longitude from the lake Tsad to Soccatoo; and although he has left the termination of the Timbuctoo river, or the Quorra, still in a state of doubt, he has completely demolished every possibility of this being the Niger of Ptolemy, or of Pliny, or that great river of Herodotus, which is supposed to have stopped the progress of the Nasimones. There is not a trace, in history or in fact, of any of the Greek or Roman colonists of Africa having crossed the Great Desert, or of the latter having penetrated beyond Fezzan. It is most probable, therefore, if any such river existed, that it was one of the streams issuing from the mountains of Atlas; perhaps the Taflet, which runs easterly, and loses itself in the sands. The Niger of Edrissi and other Arabs of the middle ages, and of Park, is unquestionably the Quorra, though there is reason to believe that the Arabs, who make no use of water communications, considered this Timbuctoo river to be the same as the Yeou, flowing in one continuous course to the eastward,—an erroneous notion, which will explain, however, some part of the strange confusion made in African geography.

The doubt as to the termination of the Quorra is, whether after its southern course as far as Funda, it penetrates the granite mountains, and is identical with the Formosa of Benin; or whether it turns off from thence to the eastward, and under the name of Shary, falls into the lake Tsad.—The evidence on both points is extremely vague, but we shall briefly state it.

“And first as to Benin.\* The caboceer of Chaki told Clapperton that the Quorra passed Jaboo, and entered the sea at Benin, but that it flowed over rocks. At Ensookoosoo, he was told that canoes came up the river from Chekeire or Warri, to Nyffe, and that they were ten days on the passage. At Katunga, though so near to the river; he could learn nothing certain about it, and the king refused to let him go to it. ‘At one time,’ he says, ‘it runs into the sea between Jaboo and Benin, and at another, that it passes Benin.’ The Sultan of Boussa knew nothing of it, but he had heard people say that it went to Beni, which is the name they give to Bornou.’ The headman of the king of Nyffe told him, that ‘the river was full of rocks and islands, nearly the whole way to the sea, which it entered at the town of Funda.’ At Tabra, he was told ‘that the Quorra ran into the sea, behind Benin, at Funda.’ This is the sum of what Clapperton has collected, with regard to the Quorra entering the sea at Benin, or at Funda.

Next, as to its identity with the Shary. Denham when on the Shary,

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\* There is no authority worthy the least regard, for placing Benin where it appears in the chart of Clapperton's book, which is at least three times farther up the country than our present information warrants: Its latitude is 6 degrees 10 minutes north.

learned that a branch of this river passed through the plain of Adamowa; and Clapperton understood at Soccatoo, from a Shca Arab, whose tribe resided on the banks of the Shary, that it passed the town of Adamowa; that it was there joined by a branch from the hills of Bobyra, and that further to the east, a large river called Asu, or Ashu, fell into it from the southern mountains. At Dunrora, Richard Lander says, 'About half a day's journey to the east, stood a lofty hill, at the foot of which lay the large city of Jacoba. Mahomet affirmed, that there is a river called Shar or Shary, about half a mile from that place, which derives its source from the lake Tsad; and that canoes can go from the lake to the Niger, at any season of the year. The Shary empties itself into the Niger at Funda.' The shiek of Ghadamis told the late Major Laing, from personal observation, that the Quorra was turned out of its southerly course, to the left, or eastward, by a chain of mountains; and the secretary or schoolmaster of Bello drew his chart in the same direction. Hornemann's testimony, obtained from a Maraboot, is very important; it states that the river seen by Park flows southward from Houssa; that it waters Nyffé and Cabbé, where it is called Julbi; that it runs eastward into the district of Bornou, where it takes the name of Zad; that in some parts of Houssa it is called Gaora, (Quorra,) or the great water. 'The breadth of the Zad,' he says, 'was given me for one mile (others said two;) but in the rainy season, the breadth is said to be a day's journey. The Budamas always keep themselves in the middle of this stream; they are a very savage, heathenish nation.

"These several notices strongly imply that the Quorra and the Shary are the same river, and that it is deflected from its southerly course somewhere about Funda, which place, owing most probably, to the equivocal word *bahr*, has erroneously been assumed to be on the sea-coast. It is remarkable enough, that even Salamé, who understands both English and Arabic so well, cannot divest himself of translating that Arabic word into 'sea;' the Bahr el Abiad, for instance, he translates the 'White Sea,' the Bahr el Azrek, the 'Blue Sea,' and he writes the *sea* of Cowara or Quorra. Horneman was probably led into an error of a contrary kind, and talks of the *river* Zad, which should be the *lake* Zad; the size he gives to it, and the Budumas upon it, evidently point out the *lake*, and the *Biddoomas* of Denham who inhabit its islands. We are inclined, therefore, to consider the Quorra to empty itself into the Tsad; and we are supported in this opinion by one, who has done more for the elucidation of African geography, ancient as well as modern, from the slender materials he possessed, than any other human being—we need hardly mention Major Rennell—*clarum et venerabile nomen*.

"The difference of levels does not appear to present any difficulty. Barometrical observations carried into the heart of a country are not much to be relied on for ascertaining the elevation of that country above the sea. But supposing, in the present case, the instruments to have been correct, (which rarely happens with travelling barometers,) the level of the Quorra

at the ferry of Comie would appear to be something higher than the level of the Tsad, as given by Doctor Oudney. It may be observed, that the whole of the interior of northern Africa is a succession of elevated tablelands, the steep sides of the surrounding mountains being westerly and southerly, while interiorly, they present little or no declivity. From the summit of those passed by Clapperton, there was no descent to plains beyond them, and the mercury appears to have descended, rather than to have risen, as far as the ferry of the Quorra; but we have little doubt the whole question will now be speedily decided, as Major Rennell says, by firing a shot from Fernando Po. Any single person with a few scissors, needles, and brass ornaments for the wives of Badagry, Yourriba, Kiama, Boussa, and Yourri, would make his way without interruption, and from the last mentioned place to Bornou, avoiding altogether the Fellatas of Bello. The pastoral Fellatas are a harmless people. It is by means of single travellers that we shall eventually be able to settle the geography of northern Africa."



## Virginia Legislature.

*Report of the Committee, to whom were referred sundry memorial-als on the subject of Colonizing the Free People of Colour of Virginia.*

The Committee, to whom were referred sundry memorials on the subject of colonizing, on the coast of Africa, the free people of colour of Virginia, having given to the subject, the attention justly due to its importance, and to its intimate connexion with what they believe to be the best interests of the State, beg leave to report, that the object of all the memorialists seems to be, to induce the General Assembly of Virginia, to avail itself of the offer of the American Colonization Society, to receive and protect within its settlement, on the Coast of Africa, any portion of the free coloured population of America. To this course, the memorialists think the Legislature of Virginia not only pledged by its previous acts, but invited also by the most powerful considerations of State policy and national justice; and they appeal with confidence to the wisdom and patriotism of those to whom the interests of the State are now confided, to commence at once the important work of providing the necessary means for the gradual removal of such portions of the coloured population of the State, as are already free, or may hereafter be liberated.

Your committee are aware of the delicate nature of the subject, to which their attention has been thus directed; and while they deem it their imperious duty to investigate in the fullest manner its merits and its consequences, they hope to be able to present the result of their investigation, in a mode calculated neither to alarm the fears, nor to excite the prejudices of any impartial mind.

The establishment within the limits of any State, of a large and growing community of individuals, essentially different from the great mass of its inhabitants, would, under any circumstances, be a matter of questionable expediency. But, if that community be distinguished by the peculiarity of its colour; be made up of slaves, or of their immediate descendants, and be diffused over every part of a slave-holding country, there is no longer room to doubt the baneful and dangerous character of the influence it must exert. The distinctive complexion by which it is marked, necessarily debars it from all familiar intercourse with the more favoured society that surrounds it, and of course denies to it all hope of either social or political elevation, by means of individual merit, however great, or individual exertions, however unremitted. The strongest incentives to industry, and moral as well as political rectitude, being thus withdrawn, it would argue a most extraordinary ignorance of the character of the human heart, to anticipate from those, in relation to whom virtue and intelligence, and patriotism, are stripped of their most powerful attractions, a course of conduct calculated either to exalt themselves, or to benefit the country in which they live. Reason, on the contrary, would point us to the very results which our own experience has so fully demonstrated. Ignorance, idleness, and profligacy, must be the inseparable companions, the unavoidable consequences of individual degradation; and they who are its unfortunate subjects, cannot fail to be a curse to the community with which they are connected, detracting at once from its general wealth, its moral character, and its political strength.

But, there is yet a more important and alarming view, in which this subject necessarily presents itself to the mind of every Virginian. A community of the character that has been described, with this additional peculiarity, that it differs from the class

from which it has sprung, only in its exemption from the wholesome restraints of domestic authority, is found in the midst of a numerous and rapidly increasing slave population; and while its partial freedom, trammelled as it is, by the necessary rigours of the law, is nevertheless sufficiently attractive, to be a source of uneasiness and dissatisfaction to those who have not attained to its questionable privileges, its exemption from the prompt and efficient inquisition appertaining to slavery, makes it an important instrument in the corruption and seduction of those, who yet remain the property of their masters. The extent of this evil, may be fairly estimated, by a reference to our Statute book. The laws intended either to prevent or to limit its effects, are of a character, which nothing, but the extreme necessity of the case, could ever justify, to a community of republicans; and the obligation to resort to them, is sufficient to command the serious attention of every enlightened patriot.

To considerations such as these, may be traced the policy, first resorted to by the Legislature of Virginia in 1805, of arresting the progress of emancipation, by requiring the speedy removal from the State, of all, to whom its privileges might be extended; and rigorous as this policy may seem to be; at war with the feelings of a very large and respectable portion of the community; and repressing by its mandates, some of the noblest principles of the human heart, it was nevertheless justified by the most powerful considerations of public necessity; it had become essential, towards preventing the rapid extension of an evil, that threatened in its progress, to destroy the peace and tranquillity of the State.

But, this unfortunately, was the utmost limit of its operation. The evil was already in existence, and possessed within itself, the means of its own extension, and accordingly, the free coloured population of Virginia, which in 1800, was only 24,000, had in 1820, reached the amount of 36,875. The only expedient left, was to prevent its farther increase, and if possible to ensure its decrease, by providing for its gradual removal; and accordingly the General Assembly, in its Session of 1816-'17, evidently with the intention of resorting to this expedient, renewed an effort it had made without success as early as 1800, to procure through the General Government, an asylum on the coast



of Africa, for the reception of its coloured population. This object, for reasons which it is unnecessary to enumerate, was never accomplished.

But, a Society of intelligent and patriotic individuals, with scarcely any other resources than such as were supplied by private charity, and their own enterprising spirits, have, in the mean time, succeeded in exploring the most important parts of the Western Coast of Africa, in procuring a settlement of almost indefinite extent, and in planting within its limits, a thriving Colony of more than twelve hundred people, taken indiscriminately from the different States of the Union. The doors of this settlement are now opened to the coloured population of Virginia, and it rests with the Legislature to determine, whether a wise policy, and the best interests of the State, do not require that suitable stimulants to emigration, should be offered to those, for whose especial benefit, this valuable asylum has been prepared.

It is deemed unnecessary to repeat what has already been said, of the character of the population in question, of its hopeless degradation, and its baneful influence, in the situation in which it is now placed.

The advantages that would result from its removal, not only to itself, but to the country it would leave, and to the country of its adoption, may very safely be assumed as a matter no longer admitting of a doubt. But, there is one consideration connected with the subject, so interesting, and sustained by so many of the most imposing sanctions, ever drawn to the support of legislative enactments, that your committee would feel itself guilty of the grossest neglect, were its present labours terminated, without claiming for it the attention it so justly merits.

Under the influence of a policy, already referred to, and justified by the necessity from which it sprung, the laws of Virginia have prohibited emancipation within the limits of the State, but on condition of the early removal of the individual emancipated. Do not justice and humanity require, that the rigours of this condition should be softened, as far as possible, by legislative interposition? And how can this be so effectually accomplished, as by providing a safe and suitable asylum, together with the means of emigration to it, for those whose removal from the State is

positively enjoined? There can be no doubt of the wisdom and propriety of controlling, and even entirely repressing the operations of benevolence and philanthropy, when inconsistent with the public safety, or the public welfare. But, that Government would be justly chargeable with the extreme of despotism, that should attempt, without necessity, to interfere with the kind and generous feelings of the human heart; or, where the necessity exists, without tempering the rigour of its decrees with such emollients as charity may suggest, and the means at its disposal may supply.

On the present occasion, however, policy fortunately points to the very course which humanity would require. In providing for those whose removal from the State, is made a condition of their emancipation, the means of emigration to Africa, the General Assembly will be applying, in the opinion of your Committee, the only safe and efficient remedy to an evil, whose presence and magnitude is acknowledged, and whose future increase is dreaded by all. If the effect of this operation should not be, as some have sanguinely hoped, the entire extinction of slavery, in the end, there can be very little doubt, that it will at least open a drain for our coloured population, of which individual humanity and legislative wisdom may avail themselves, to an extent amply sufficient for all the purposes of public security. But should it realise in its results, the anticipations that have sometimes been formed in relation to it, and draw from us, without a single interference with individual rights, or a single violation of individual wishes, the great mass of our coloured population, then indeed may Virginia look to it, as the surest means of restoring her to that ascendancy among her sister States, of which it may be safely affirmed, that slavery only has deprived her.

Entertaining these sentiments, your committee cannot hesitate to recommend, in compliance with the suggestions of the memorials referred to them, the provision of a permanent fund for defraying, with proper limitations, the expenses of such free coloured people, as may choose to emigrate from the State of Virginia, to the settlement at Liberia. They are the more earnest in this recommendation, from having learned that there are at this moment, nearly six hundred applicants for emigration, a large proportion of whom are natives of Virginia. On two form-

er occasions, the Legislature did not hesitate to contribute from the public funds, towards the encouragement of this patriotic undertaking, and it is not among the least pleasing of the recollections connected with the event, that while they were thus directly promoting so important an object, the effect of their example was to excite in some of their sister States, a spirit which has resulted, in one of them at least, in an annual appropriation for relieving itself from its free coloured population.

Your Committee are aware, that this whole business is, as yet, in some degree, a matter of experiment; and they would of course deem it inexpedient for the State of Virginia, at once, to engage in it to the full extent, that may ultimately be required of her. But enough has been demonstrated to justify a beginning by a small annual appropriation, at all times subject to the control of the Legislature; and this appropriation may hereafter be either withdrawn or increased, as its results shall be found injurious or beneficial.

In looking around for some special fund that may most properly be set apart for this object, the attention of your Committee has been particularly drawn to that portion of the public revenue derived from the annual sales of coloured convicts. Though small in amount, it is nevertheless sufficiently large for the experiment proposed; and its peculiar origin, springing as it does, from the crimes and the misfortunes of our coloured population, would seem to recommend it as particularly appropriate for improving the condition of that population, and for gradually relieving the State from the present evils, and the future dangers, inseparable from its existence and probable increase within her limits. Your Committee accordingly recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to provide for the removal of the free coloured people of Virginia to the Coast of Africa.

2. *Resolved*, That the Committee of finance be directed to prepare a bill appropriating to this purpose, so much of the annual revenue as arises from the sales of convicts.



### Plan for obtaining a Ship for the Society.

A highly respected friend of the Society, (N. Hammond, Esq.) under date Easton, Md. April 13, 1829 writes, "Having observed

in the last Repository a plan for raising money for the purchase of a vessel for the transportation of Emigrants to Liberia, and thinking it practicable and highly useful, I immediately determined to become a subscriber. It was thought that an explanation more particular than appears in that Journal would render the plan more intelligible, and show the facility with which it might be accomplished. With this intention certain suggestions have been published in our papers; but as your Repository is transmitted far beyond the bounds of our local Gazette, I have taken the liberty of enclosing them for your inspection, that you may judge whether their appearance in it will serve the design of the Managers.

FROM THE STAR.

*To the Friends of the American Colonization Society.*—“The board of Managers in a late Report to the Society expressed their opinion that the possession of a *Ship* for the transportation of Emigrants, by saving the great expense of chartering vessels for this purpose, would considerably facilitate its operations, and increase their beneficial results. And to this important subject they have earnestly invited the attention of their friends.

In conformity with this opinion, and from a sense of its obvious utility in furthering the humane and generous views of the Board, a plan has been proposed and is now actually on foot for raising \$20,000 by subscription for the purchase of a *Ship* for the Colonization Society.—The plan is simple, and the object entirely practicable by means of even small contributions from the advocates and supporters of this noble project throughout the United States. Four hundred persons are required to become subscribers; and each of them to become accountable, by payment or by collection, for \$50, and no payment to be demanded until the Treasurer of the Society shall have publicly announced that the subscription of \$20,000 has been completed.

It ought not to be doubted that, for the purpose of promoting an object so interesting and humane, some two or three persons in every county will forward their names as subscribers to the plan, from an assurance that their neighbors and fellow citizens will cheerfully assist by their contributions to raise the sum for which they will respectively have made themselves accountable. So well satisfied am I of the humanity and assistance of my neighbors that I propose forwarding my name, or inducing some other citizen to forward his, as a subscriber for \$50; for it is not material who becomes the subscriber. It is therefore proposed to prepare a subscription paper to be signed by the contributors for as much or as little as they please, so as to raise the sum of \$50 to be paid to the undertaking subscriber for the use of the Society; and we flatter ourselves that we shall find several ladies among the contributors. The form will be like the following:

“For the purpose of enabling the American Colonization Society to purchase a suitable vessel for the convenient transportation of Emigrants to the Colony of Liberia, we the subscribers do severally promise and agree to pay to A. B. (the undertaking subscriber) the sum of money annexed to our respective names, for the use of the Treasurer of the said Society, as soon as he shall publicly announce that a subscription of \$20,000 shall have been completed for that purpose. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our names in the year 1829.”

Sincerely hoping that the Editors of papers on the Eastern Shore are friends to the valuable objects of the Society, they are respectfully requested to insert this scheme in their respective journals for the consideration of their readers.

*Talbot County, 31st March, 1829.*

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*From the Easton Gazette.*

MR. GRAHAM—It is always a gratification to me to hear or to see any proposition which may serve to advance the generous and important views of the American Colonization Society. It therefore gave me pleasure to read the address to its friends, which lately appeared in the Star; for I think the scheme it recommends highly promotive of the designs of the Board of Managers, and as practicable as its accomplishment will be useful. The advocates of the noble purpose, which the Society have projected and are successfully pursuing, are increasing daily, and extending themselves throughout the United States; so that a small contribution from each will easily raise the money required to purchase a suitable Vessel for the conveyance of emigrants to their destined Country.

It is hoped therefore, that you will cheerfully republish the address; and it may be here remarked, that any person proposing, or desirous to become an undertaking subscriber to the plan, may avoid any hazard from his own responsibility by obtaining subscriptions to his list to the sum of \$50 before he shall forward to the Treasurer his own name as a subscriber to that extent. As a person so proposing, I would accordingly prepare a subscription paper, such as is suggested in the address, and offer it to my neighbours; and after having obtained their signatures to that amount, I would immediately transmit a note to the Treasurer, declaring myself a subscriber of \$50 to the plan of raising \$20,000 for the purchase of a vessel for the use of the Society; and after he shall have announced that the whole subscription is completed I would forthwith proceed to collect the money subscribed to me, and remit it to the Society. Such a proceeding may give some personal trouble; but a zealous friend will endure it with patience in consideration of the benefits he may be the means of rendering to the degraded and unfortunate creatures, whose welfare and advancement are mainly the objects of the Society.

*Easton, April 3, 1829.*

LIBERIA.

A generous friend to our cause in Baltimore, C. W. Wever, Esq. alluding to this plan, observes,

“You may add my name to that list, and when the subscription is full, be pleased to advise me that I may make payment. If it were in my power, I should with great pleasure be a subscriber on the plan of Gerrit Smith, which list I am happy to find is filling up. As there are many more in like circumstances with myself, what would you think of a plan to raise \$25,000 in five years, from five hundred subscribers at \$10 a year. If you think favourably of the proposition you may consider me one of the number. Some other five hundred persons may be inclined to raise \$50,000 in five years, by yearly contributions of \$20 each; and others to raise seventy-five thousand by payments of thirty dollars annually; and some others to raise one hundred thousand by payments of forty dollars annually, and so on; others might propose to raise a less sum by annually paying a less amount than ten dollars. The object of the Society is one of momentous concern, whether it be regarded in a religious or political point of view, and cannot too seriously and ardently occupy the attention of every citizen of this Union. It is one, in aid of which, may most confidently be expected the smiles of Heaven.”



## Formation of Auxiliary Societies.

STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY IN NEW YORK.—“At a meeting of citizens from different parts of the State of New York, held at the session room in Beaver street, in the city of Albany, on the 9th day of April, 1829, Col. ELISHA JENKINS, of the county of Columbia, was called to the chair, and JAMES O. MORSE, of Otsego, was appointed Secretary.

The objects of the meeting were briefly stated by Mr. B. P. Johnson, of Oneida, and a committee consisting of John T. Norton and Benjamin F. Butler, of Albany, Benjamin P. Johnson, of Oneida, Walter Hubbell, of Ontario, John E. Hyde, of New York, and Duncan McMartin, Jr. of Montgomery, were appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the organization of a *State Colonization Society*. Credentials of delegates from Utica, Lowville, Whitesborough, New York, Canaan, Columbia county, and Canandaigua, were presented.

Adjourned to meet at the capitol on Saturday the 11th of April, instant, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

*Saturday, April 11, 1829.*

The meeting again assembled in the Senate chamber.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Nott, President of Union college, seconded by Gerrit Smith, Esq.

*Resolved*, That the objects of the American Colonization Society merit

the aid of all the friends of our country; of Africa; and of the human race; that its past success in the great experiments which it has been making, warrants the expectations, that these important objects will at no very distant period, be accomplished; and that therefore, this meeting proceed to organize a State Society, which will promote the views, and aid the efforts of this excellent institution.

Mr. B. P. Johnson, from the committee appointed at the last meeting, reported a draught of a constitution, and on his motion, seconded by Mr. J. B. Skinner, of Genesee, it was adopted.

A committee consisting of Charles R. Webster, of Albany, Walter Hubbell, of Ontario, William H. Maynard, of Oneida, Alonzo C. Paige, of Schenectady, and John T. Norton, of Albany, was appointed to make a nomination of the officers of the Society.

Rev. Isaac Orr, the agent of the American Colonization Society, then addressed the meeting, and related a variety of interesting facts in relation to the colony at Liberia, on the coast of Africa.

Mr. Webster, from the nominating committee, reported the following names, which report was accepted, and the gentlemen elected officers of the Society.

JOHN SAVAGE, *President.*

*Vice-Presidents.*

1st district—	JAMES MILNOR,	5th district—	GERRIT SMITH,
2d    "    "	N. P. TALLMADGE,	6th   "    "	SAMUEL NELSON, *
3d    "    "	ELIPHALET NOTT,	7th   "    "	N. W. HOWELL,
4th   "    "	LUTHER BRADISH,	8th   "    "	DAVID E. EVANS.

*Managers.*

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,	JABEZ D. HAMMOND,
HARMANUS BLEECKER,	JOHN WILLARD,
CHARLES R. WEBSTER,	RICHARD YATES, <i>Treasurer.</i>

RICHARD VARICK DEWITT, *Secretary.*

On motion of S. M. Hopkins, *Resolved*, That the Colonization Society should be kept separate from all local and party considerations—that it should endeavour by every proper method, and especially, by circulating suitable publications, to unite in its favour all classes of people throughout our country; and that for the attainment of objects so important, it should be ready to give up every thing but the principles and objects of its existence, and the lawful and honourable means of its prosperity.

On motion of Jabez D. Hammond, Esq. seconded by the Rev. Mr. Campbell, an agent of the American Society,

*Resolved*, That the distracted and miserable state of Africa calls loudly for our commiseration and charitable efforts; and that the Colonization Society is pursuing, by far the most probable, if not the only means, of enlightening the benighted and savage tribes of that continent, and of raising them to the rank and the blessings of Christian nations.

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the several papers of this city.

Thereupon the meeting adjourned.

ELISHA JENKINS, *Chairman*.

JAMES O. MORSE, *Secretary*.

The meeting was, at different periods of its deliberations, addressed by the Rev. Dr. Nott, Mr. Gerrit Smith, Rev. H. G. Ludlow, Mr. James Vanderpool, Mr. W. H. Maynard, Mr. T. L. Smith, Mr. A. C. Paige, Mr. S. M. Hopkins, Mr. J. D. Hammond, Rev. Isaac Orr, Rev. Mr. Campbell, and lastly, by the celebrated Joseph Lancaster.

The addresses of Dr. Nott and Mr. G. Smith, were elaborate and eloquent expositions of the objects and benefits of colonization, and will probably be published."—[*Albany Argus*].

We learn with great pleasure, that several County Societies have also been established in New York, and many others in Kentucky. A Female Association, and a Juvenile Society have also been formed in Middletown, Connecticut. It is not now in our power to publish the lists of officers. In regard to juvenile societies, a highly respected friend in Connecticut writes—

"If they can be extensively organized, they will do much directly. Suppose that the children in every town of 1500 inhabitants were to raise \$10 a year, you would be able to send off annually, a large number of emigrants. But their importance does not depend on the money they might raise; 20 years hence, the children are to govern the nation, and it therefore becomes of vast importance that they should grow up free from prejudice, and well acquainted with those facts which are necessary to enable them to form right opinions in regard to the slave-trade, our coloured population, and to Africa."



## Legislature of Pennsylvania.

The following Preamble and Resolution have passed the SENATE of Pennsylvania with great unanimity. We hope they will receive the early and decided approbation of the House of Representatives.

Whereas, resolutions approving of the object of the American Colonization Society have been adopted by the Legislatures of several states of this Union. *And whereas*, Pennsylvania is honourably distinguished in having led the way in benevolent efforts to improve the condition of the African race in this country, and in having seized the first moments of her independence from foreign dominion to abolish slavery, as inconsistent with her be-



nevolent institutions, and in the eloquent language of the legislature of that day, "in grateful commemoration of our happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain:" It seems therefore proper, that an association of enlightened and philanthropic men, who have united to form for free persons of colour, an asylum in the land of their fathers, should receive the countenance and support of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania; and from the success which has already attended the colony at Liberia, there is reason to hope that it may be extended and enlarged, so as to offer a home and a country to all of these people who may choose to emigrate there, and their removal from among us, would not only be beneficial to them, but highly auspicious to the best interests of our country. It also holds out to the Christian and philanthropist, the hope, that by the means of this colony, the lights of christianity and civilization may be made to shine in a land shrouded in the darkness of barbarism, and thus atonement in some measure be made for the wrongs which slavery has inflicted on Africa. As the evil which this Society seeks to remove, pervades the whole country, it would seem to deserve the attention of those whose duty it is, and who are provided with the means "to provide for the general welfare." Therefore,

*Be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met,* That in the opinion of this General Assembly, the American Colonization Society eminently deserves the support of the National Government, and that our Senators be directed, and the Representatives in Congress be requested to aid the same by all proper and constitutional means.



## Intelligence.

REPORT FROM HAYTI.—We have perused with much interest, the Report of Thomas Kennedy, a citizen of Wayne County, N. C., who has recently visited all the coloured emigrants sent out to Hayti by the Society of Friends in that State. He found them "generally, unpleasantly situated, and very much dissatisfied. They complained to me (he observes) that the proprietors of the lands for whom they had laboured, for two years and a half, had entirely disappointed them; that they had received but from six to ten dollars each, as a compensation for their labour during the above time; and said they had rather be slaves in North Carolina, than to remain there under the treatment they had received since their arrival.

Mr. Kennedy bore testimonials and instructions from the yearly meeting of Friends in North Carolina, and was treated with civility by the President; but all his efforts to improve the circumstances of the emigrants from the United States, proved ineffectual, and in attempting to take under his protection for removal, a family which he had formerly emancipated, he was treated with great indignity. The following are the observations with which he concludes his statement.—

*“Observations on the Country, &c.—*The land is vastly rich, producing with but little cultivation, most of the necessaries of life. The climate, air, and water, are salubrious and pure.

*“Their Government (in my view) is an aristocratic, military despotism. Their Congress and its powers are a mere fudge. Their laws are better worded than administered. In fact, I think the will of the President may be deemed the law of the land, with a standing army (report says) forty thousand strong to enforce it.*

*“Their agriculture is very much neglected, particularly the growth of articles for exportation. Hence their commerce is declining. Their manners and customs are disagreeable; their way, or mode of living, particularly in the country, is very poor and coarse. Polygamy is tolerated; at least, concubinage is practised with impunity. Hence they have but few children. The people are generally ignorant, yet conceited and self-wise. As for their religion, I fear they have but little; notwithstanding, they mostly profess to be Roman Catholics.*

*“From my short acquaintance with the Haytiens, and my observing their dispositions towards our American blacks amongst them, I am not disposed to encourage any free people of colour to go from the United States to settle in Hayti; but as a friend, I would suggest to them the propriety of emigrating to Liberia, where I believe they would live under good government and laws, enjoy equal privileges, and be among their own country people. The present Colonists would have their own manners, customs, language, and religion. Added to which, they would be in the land of their forefathers’ nativity; where, by proper application on their part, they might be instrumental in civilizing and christianizing benighted Africa. Then we might expect to see verified an ancient prediction, ‘Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God, the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing. The glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.’”—Isa. chap. 35. v. 1, 2.*

*Newbern, 2d month 4th, 1829.*

*Emigrants to Hayti.—*The schooner Cicero sailed yesterday (February 17,) for Port au Prince, and has on board as passengers, twelve coloured persons, who have been liberated by Joseph Leonard Smith, Esq. a gentleman of Frederick County, for the purpose of establishing them as Colonists in Hayti.

Mr. Smith has not only generously relinquished his legal rights to the services of these people for life, but has also provided them with a handsome outfit, of provisions, clothing, and agricultural implements. He has paid their passage to the island, and has besides engaged at his own ex-

pense, the services of a gentleman who is well acquainted with that country and its government, who goes out with them to assist them in making an advantageous location, and to procure for them all the facilities and benefits which are extended to persons of this description by the Haytien Republic.—*Baltimore Chronicle.*

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SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.—The following extract of a letter from the Rev. T. R. Durfee, of Missouri, to the Corresponding Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, may draw the attention of some to certain influences of slavery that they have never considered, and to certain duties that have been too much neglected by Northern Christians.

Here let me mention what I fear will be a permanent obstacle to a regular and competent support of the ministry in this State. This obstacle is found in the existence of slavery. Slave-holders purchase extensive plantations, and in this way the inhabitants are kept in a scattered state. They are too far removed from each other, to unite in the formation of religious societies, and in the support of a settled minister. This evil, it is true, will not exist in towns; and it may find a partial remedy in a minister's dividing his time between two or three settlements: but this remedy is, after all, only partial; and such a state of things will always diminish the effect attending the dispensation of God's word. I am aware that I have now touched a subject of a very delicate nature. Slavery, perhaps, exists in its mildest form in this State; but it is still a great evil, and one that is most sensibly felt by slave-holders themselves. How is this evil to be removed? Not by denouncing the slave-holder as an unprincipled and unfeeling man. This only tends to aggravate the difficulty. It must be removed by action, and not by declamation. The people at the East must feel that there is a duty devolving upon them in relation to this subject. The evil is attached to us as a nation, and if it is ever removed, we must, as individuals of this nation, contribute our proportion. When an owner of slaves tells me that he will freely relinquish his slaves, or even that he will relinquish one-half of their value, on condition that he be compensated for the other half, and provision be made for their transportation, I feel that he has made a generous proposal, and I cannot charge him with all the guilt of slavery, though he may continue to be a slave-holder. Some remarks have lately appeared in the Eastern papers, which will be hailed by many at the West and South, as indications of the increasing prevalence of just views on this subject, and as harbingers of good to the degraded blacks. Let it be acknowledged by the inhabitants of the free States, that slavery is a national evil, and that they are bound in duty to contribute to its removal, and there are thousands at the South and West who will join them, heart and hand, in the great work of emancipation. Slavery is a subject of much feeling among us, and never have I conversed with a slave-holder who did not profess himself a warm friend of the Colonization Society. It should be re-

membered that the laws of the slave-holding States are such, that the slaveholder cannot emancipate his slaves, unless provision is made for their transportation. I have insensibly extended my remarks on this subject, and my only apology for writing thus, is the full conviction that this subject is intimately connected with the benevolent work of planting the standard of the cross in this country.—[*New York Observer*.



Communicated.

LINES TO THE MEMORY OF THE REV. LOTT CARY.

Shall none record the honour'd name  
 Of Afric's favour'd son,  
 Or twine the deathless wreath of fame  
 For him whose race is run?  
 While Angels crown the saint above,  
 Has earth no voice to own her love?  
 Where'er the Patriot rests his head  
 A stately pile appears;  
 While warriors sleep on glory's bed,  
 Beneath a nation's tears;  
 And shall no tribute rise to thee  
 Thou fearless friend of liberty?  
 Yes, Afric's sunny skies have gleam'd  
 On many a scene sublime;  
 But more than hope has ever dream'd  
 Is destin'd for that clime.  
 The chain shall burst, the slave be free  
 And millions bless thy memory.  
 Thy meed shall be a nation's love!  
 Thy praise, the Free-man's song!  
 And in thy star wreath'd home above  
 Thou mayst the theme prolong;  
 For hymns of praise from Afric's plains  
 Shall mingle with seraphic strains.

V.



Errata.

For *Robert Gibson*, page 32, second line from top, read *Robert Gilmor*, Esq. Mr. Gilmor is one of the wealthiest, most respectable and munificent citizens of Baltimore. Feb. No. page 384, last line, for 30, read 20 dollars.

N. B. Several statements of interest, and two or three valued communications, also our list of donations, we are compelled to postpone until next month.

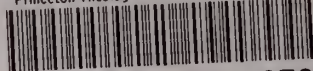




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